

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 9708

EXDIS

EO 11652: XGDS-4
TAGS: PINT SHUM CSCE UR
SUBJECT: TURCHIN ON DISSIDENT TRIALS

SUMMARY: TURCHIN COMPARED VARIOUS DISSIDENT CASES IN ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN DIFFERING TREATMENT BY KGB. ORLOV GETS LIGHT TREATMENT BECAUSE HE IS CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF ACADEMY OF SCIENCES; SHCHARANSKIY GETS TOUGH TREATMENT BECAUSE HE IS LINK BETWEEN REFUSENIKS AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS; AND UKRAINIANS IN GENERAL GET ROUGHER TREATMENT BECAUSE OF LOCAL SITUATION. TOTH SHOULD NOT HAVE SIGNED PROTOCOLS, TURCHIN ASSERTED, AND HE SAW TOTH AFFAIR AS KGB EFFORT TO SEW UP CASE AGAINST SHCHARANSKIY BEFORE PRESENTING IT TO PARTY OFFICIALS FOR APPROVAL. HE THINKS ALL TRIALS WILL BEGIN BEFORE BELGRADE II AND THAT EXCHANGES FOR ORLOV AND GINZBURG MAY ONLY BE POSSIBLE AFTER SENTENCING. TURCHIN SEES HARD TIMES AHEAD BUT IS OPTIMISTIC AND STILL IS STRONG SUPPORTER OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT CARTER. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF HAD LONG DINNER CONVERSATION WITH VALENTIN TURCHIN JULY 3 PRIOR TO LATTER'S TEMPORARY DETENTION BY KGB FOLLOWING DAY. TURCHIN GAVE NO INDICATION THAT HE BELIEVED HE WOULD BE PICKED UP; INDEED HE SAID HE WAS PLANNING TO VISIT GINZBURG JULY 4. FOLLOWING ARE HIS MAIN POINTS:
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2. UKRAINIAN DISSIDENTS: TURCHIN THOUGHT MAIN REASON THE UKRAINIAN DISSIDENTS GOT STRICTER TREATMENT THAN ORLOV IS PRIMARILY BECAUSE ORLOV IS A MOSCOW-BASED DISSIDENT WHO IS WELL-KNOWN IN THE WEST AND WHO IS WELL EDUCATED; AS A CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ARMENIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES HE RECEIVES A CERTAIN

AMOUNT OF RESPECT WITHIN "THE SYSTEM" AND HENCE IS LIKELY TO GET BETTER TREATMENT. ADDITIONALLY THE AUTHORITIES ARE TRADITIONALLY MORE CONCERNED ABOUT DISSIDENT ACTIVITY IN THE UKRAINE FOR FEAR THAT THE REFUSENIKS, HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS, AND LATENT NATIONALIST SENTIMENT IN THE UKRAINE MAY COMBINE TO CREATE A MORE SERIOUS DISSIDENT FORCE IN THAT REPUBLIC. AS A RESULT ANY ACTIVITY IN THE UKRAINE IS LIKELY TO MEET WITH HARSHER RETALIATION THAN THE EQUIVALENT WOULD IN MOSCOW.

3. THE SHCHARANSKIY CASE: TURCHIN EXPLAINED THE TREASON CHARGES AGAINST SHCHARANSKIY AS ARISING OUT OF "THE GOOD CASE THEY HAVE ON HIM". ALTHOUGH SHCHARANSKIY IS COMPLETELY GUILTLESS, SAID TURCHIN, THEY HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY BUILDING THEIR CASE AGAINST HIM FOR SOME TIME. AS A RESULT THEY ARE WILLING TO GO FURTHER TO GET SHCHARANSKIY ON TREASON CHARGES. ORLOV WILL GET OFF MUCH MORE LIGHTLY ON CHARGES UNDER ARTICLE 190-1. THERE ARE TWO REASONS WHY THE KGB IS PUSHING THE SHCHARANSKIY CASE, TURCHIN BELIEVES: (A) SHCHARANSKIY IS A LINK BETWEEN THE JEWISH REFUSENIKS AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS, AND (B) THEY HAD A "PLANT" FROM "THE VERY BEGINNING" IN LIPAVSKIY WHO WOULD HELP THEM BUILD THE BEST POSSIBLE CASE AGAINST SHCHARANSKIY. TURCHIN THINKS SHCHARANSKIY IS SURE TO BE TRIED PROBABLY BEFORE BELGRADE II
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BEGINS AND THAT HE WILL GET A STIFF SENTENCE (AT LEAST 10-15 YEARS).

3. THE TOTH CASE: TURCHIN BELIEVES THE KGB NEEDED THE TOTH TESTIMONY IN ORDER TO CAP THEIR CASE AGAINST SHCHARANSKIY BEFORE THEY BROUGHT IT BEFORE PARTY OFFICIALS FOR FINAL APPROVAL. HE STRESSED THAT ALTHOUGH THE CHARGES ARE FALSE, THE SYSTEM DEMANDS THAT ALL THE "FORMAL ELEMENTS" BE PRESENT IN A CASE SUCH AS SHCHARANSKIY'S. TOTH PROVIDED THE FINAL ELEMENT, A DIRECT LINK BETWEEN SHCHARANSKIY AND THE FOREIGNERS TO WHOM HE SUPPOSEDLY PROVIDED SECRET INFORMATION. TURCHIN BELIEVES THE CASE COULD HAVE GONE AHEAD WITHOUT TOTH'S SIGNED PROTOCOLS BUT THAT WITH THEM THE KGB WILL FEEL IN A STRONGER POSITION WHEN GOING BEFORE THE PARTY ORGANS AND EVENTUALLY IN THE TRIAL ITSELF.

4. TURCHIN FEELS TOTH SHOULD NOT HAVE SIGNED THE PROTOCOLS UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES AND WAS SURE THAT EVEN HAD HE REFUSED HE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ARRESTED ALTHOUGH HE PROBABLY WOULD HAVE BEEN DETAINED FOR

SOME TIME (HE IMPLIED THIS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN LONG).
HE BELIEVES THAT THE KGB AND OTHER AUTHORITIES WERE
FULLY AWARE OF THE OUTBURST THAT WOULD RESULT FROM
QUESTIONING AND DETAINING TOTH BUT THAT THEY FELT IT
WAS WORTH THE EFFORT BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF HIS
TESTIMONY TO THE SHCHARANSKIY TRIAL. HE
DOES NOT GIVE CREDENCE TO THE THEORY THAT TOTH
WAS PICKED UP TO FRIGHTEN OFF OTHER CORRESPONDENTS
FROM CONTACTS WITH DISSIDENTS. DESPITE THIS ASSES-
MENT TURCHIN SAYS HE DOES NOT HARBOR ANY ILL FEELINGS
TOWARDS TOTH. HE THINKS TOTH, AS A FOREIGNER, WAS AT
A DISADVANTAGE IN DEALING WITH THE KGB SINCE HE
BELIEVED HE WAS TELLING THE SIMPLE TRUTH AND THAT
THERE WAS NO CRIME INVOLVED.
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 9708

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5. THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE: TURCHIN OPINED THAT BESIDES
GOING AHEAD WITH THE SHCHARANSKIY CASE BEFORE BELGRADE
II, SOVIETS WILL DEAL WITH BOTH ORLOV AND GINZBURG
BETWEEN NOW AND OCTOBER BECAUSE THEY WISH TO GET
THESE TRIALS OUT OF THE WAY BEFORE SITTING DOWN TO
DISCUSS CSCE WITH THE WEST. HE DID NOT THINK THAT
THERE WOULD BE FURTHER ARRESTS OF OTHER DISSIDENTS
IN THE INTERIM BUT CAUTIONED THAT HE HAD NO REAL
ASSURANCE ON THIS POINT. HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THERE

IS NO POSSIBILITY OF GETTING ORLOV AND GINZBURG
RELEASED BEFORE THEIR TRIAL BUT STILL RETAINS A
HOPE THAT SOME KIND OF EXCHANGE CAN BE MADE AFTER
THEIR CONVICTION. HE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT ANY
EXCHANGE OR EARLY RELEASE FOR SHCHARANSKIY. (COMMENT:
THIS IS A LONG-HELD HOPE OF TURCHIN. HE BASES HIS
DESIRE THAT AN EXCHANGE TAKE PLACE ON THE BURKOVSKIY
PRECEDENT AND BECAUSE HE KNOWS THAT GINZBURG COULD
NOT SURVIVE A LONG SENTENCE. HE REALIZES, HOWEVER,
THAT AN EXCHANGE IS MOST UNLIKELY.)

6. THE DISTANT FUTURE: TURCHIN THINKS THE NEXT TWO
OR THREE YEARS WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR ANY DISSIDENTS
IN THE SOVIET UNION BUT THAT IN THE LONG RUN THE
MOVEMENT WILL SURVIVE AND EVEN GROW. HE THINKS THAT
WHAT THE LAST 10 YEARS HAVE SHOWN IS THAT THE AUTHOR-
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ITIES CANNOT STAMP OUT DISSIDENTS BY EITHER LENIENT
OR STRICT TACTICS. HE IS ALSO CONVINCED THAT THE
PUBLICITY THAT THEY HAVE RECEIVED IN THE WEST IS AN
IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE DISSIDENTS FAVOR. HE IS
STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S PUBLIC
STANCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND BELIEVES THAT PUBLIC STATE-
MENTS BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION SHOULD BE CAREFULLY
MIXED WITH "QUIET DIPLOMACY" IN ORDER TO GAIN MAXIMUM
EFFECT. HE SAID A KIND OF MULTIPLIER EFFECT
RESULTS FROM USE OF BOTH PUBLIC AND DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS
BUT THAT IF EITHER IS MISSING THE RESULT IS ZERO, JUST
AS ANY NUMBER MULTIPLIED BY ZERO IS ZERO. HE WAS NOT
SURE WHAT THE PROPER MIX OUGHT TO BE AND WAS INCLINED
TO LEAVE THIS DECISION TO OTHERS; JUST AS LONG AS THERE
WAS A MIX OF THE TWO.
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